

HART-TEETER  
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 803 Respondents  
Dates: November 14-15, 1993

48 Male  
52 Female  
**[5]**

**FINAL**

Study #4043  
NBC News/WSJ  
November 1993

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<b>[6]</b>	<b>[8]</b>	<b>[9]</b>	<b>[12]</b>	<b>[13]</b>
<b>[7]</b>		<b>[10]</b>		<b>[14]</b>
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November 1993

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

- I'm going to read you the names of several people and countries. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Very Positive	Somewha t Positive	Neu- tral	Somewha t Negative	Very Negativ e	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
<b>Mexico</b>							
November 14-15 1993. .	10	25	36	16	8	5	<b>[15]</b>
<b>Canada</b>							
November 14-15 1993. .	34	38	20	3	1	4	<b>[16]</b>
<b>Ross Perot</b>							
November 14-15 1993. .	11	17	21	20	27	4	<b>[17]</b>
October 1993.....	11	19	25	22	20	3	
September 1993.....	12	24	26	19	16	3	
July 1993.....	13	24	25	17	17	4	
June 1993.....	16	25	24	16	15	4	

April 1993.....	17	27	27	15	11	3
March 1993.....	16	31	25	13	11	4
January 1993.....	16	26	24	16	14	4
December 1993.....	13	22	27	18	15	5
May 1992.....	12	20	25	7	6	30

(Q.1 cont'd)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewha t Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewha t Negative</u>	<u>Very Negativ e</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>
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**Al Gore**

November 14-15, 1993..	21	31	22	13	11	2	<b>[18]</b>
October 1993.....	14	28	25	13	14	6	
September 1993.....	17	30	24	12	12	5	
March 1993.....	19	28	23	12	9	9	
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
December 1993.....	21	30	21	10	9	9	

**Bill Clinton**

November 14-15, 1993..	24	30	14	14	16	2	<b>[19]</b>
October 1993.....	16	30	18	16	19	1	
September 1993.....	18	32	15	17	17	1	
July 1993.....	15	31	17	16	20	1	
June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1	
April 1993.....	25	27	18	13	16	1	
March 1993.....	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1993.....	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	

- 2a. Do you favor or oppose NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada that eliminates nearly all restrictions on imports, exports, and business investment between the United States, Mexico, and Canada? If you feel you have not heard enough about this issue yet to have an opinion, please just say so.

	11/1 4- <u>15/9</u> <u>3</u>		<u>10/9</u> <u>3</u>	<u>9/9</u> <u>3</u>	<u>7/9</u> <u>3</u>	<u>4/9</u> <u>3</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>10/92*</u> +	<u>9/92*</u> +	
Favor NAFTA.....	36	<b>CONTINUE</b>	29	25	31	27	28	21	27	<b>[20]</b>
Oppose NAFTA.....	31	<b>SKIP TO Q.2c</b>	33	36	29	25	31	37	34	
Have not heard enough about issue.....	26	<b>SKIP TO Q.4</b>	34	34	36	44	36	38	35	
Not sure.....	7		4	5	4	4	5	4	4	

**(ASK ONLY OF THOSE IN FAVOR OF NAFTA IN Q.2a.)**

- 2b. Would you say you are strongly in favor of NAFTA, or moderately in favor of NAFTA?

Strongly in favor.....	44	<b>SKIP TO Q.3.</b>	<b>[21]</b>
Moderately in favor.....	55		
Not sure.....	1		

**(ASK ONLY OF THOSE OPPOSED TO NAFTA IN Q.2a.)**

2c. Would you say you are strongly opposed to NAFTA, or moderately opposed to NAFTA?

Strongly opposed.....	55	<b>[22]</b>
Moderately opposed.....	44	
Not sure.....	1	

**(ASK ONLY OF THOSE IN FAVOR OF OR OPPOSED TO NAFTA IN Q.2a.)**

3. Have you changed your opinion about NAFTA in the past few weeks?

Have changed opinion.....	1	<b>[23]</b>
	1	
Have not changed opinion.....	5	
	4	
Not sure.....	2	
No opinion (from Q.2a).....	3	
	3	

**(ASK EVERYONE.)**

4. Did you see or hear any part of the debate on NAFTA between Ross Perot and Al Gore?

**(IF "SAW DEBATE," ASK:)** Did you see or hear all of the debate, part of the debate, or just a little of the debate?

**(IF "DID NOT SEE DEBATE," ASK:)** Have you since read or heard anything about the debate?

<b>Did See/Hear Debate</b>		
All of debate.....	1	<b>[24]</b>
	5	
Part of debate.....	2	
	3	
Just a little of the debate.....	1	
	2	
<b>Have Since Heard Or Read About Debate.....</b>	1	
	9	
<b>Have Not Seen, Heard, Or Read About Debate.....</b>	3	
	0	
<b>Not Sure If Have Seen, Heard, Or Read About Debate.....</b>	1	

<p align="center"><b>ROTATE THE ORDER OF Q.5a AND Q.5b ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW</b></p>
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5a. If your member of Congress votes in favor of NAFTA, how much difference would this make in your vote in next year's congressional election--a lot of difference, or not that much difference?  
**(IF "A LOT OF DIFFERENCE," ASK:)** And would this support of NAFTA make you more likely or less likely to vote for your member of Congress?

<b>A Lot Of Difference</b>		<b>[25]</b>
More likely to vote to reelect.....	14	
Less likely to vote to reelect.....	20	
Not sure about vote.....	3	
<b>Not That Much Difference.....</b>	56	
<b>Not Sure.....</b>	7	

5b. And if your member of Congress votes against NAFTA, how much difference would this make in your vote in next year's congressional election--a lot of difference, or not that much difference?  
**(IF "A LOT OF DIFFERENCE," ASK:)** And would this opposition to NAFTA make you more likely or less likely to vote for your member of Congress?

<b>A Lot Of Difference</b>		<b>[26]</b>
More likely to vote to reelect.....	15	

Less likely to vote to reelect.....	13
Not sure about vote.....	4
<b>Not That Much Difference</b> .....	60
<b>Not Sure</b> .....	8

- 6a. Now I would like to read you some statements that have been made about what may happen if NAFTA is passed. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each statement. **(READ STATEMENTS. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis-</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sur</u> <u>e</u>	
<b>American manufacturing jobs will move to Mexico</b>				
November 14-15, 1993.....	49	42	9	<b>[27]</b>
October 1993.....	49	40	11	
September 1993.....	74	20	6	
<b>Some jobs will be lost in the U.S., but even more jobs will be created</b>				
November 14-15, 1993.....	50	38	12	<b>[28]</b>
October 1993.....	42	45	13	
September 1993.....	40	50	10	

- 6b. If the North American Free Trade Agreement is passed, do you think that immigration from Mexico into the United States would go up, go down, or stay about the same?

	11/14 - 15/93	9/93	
Immigration from Mexico would go up.....	26	34	<b>[30]</b>
Immigration from Mexico would go down.....	18	18	
Immigration from Mexico would stay about the same.....	50	44	
Not sure.....	6	4	

- 7a. Now, if NAFTA is **defeated**, how much effect do you think this will have on President Clinton's standing as a world leader dealing with other countries--a lot, some, a little, or no effect?

A lot of effect .....	2	<b>[31]</b>
Some effect.....	9	
	4	
	0	
A little effect.....	1	
	6	
No effect.....	1	
	1	
Not sure.....	4	

- 7b. Do you agree or disagree with this statement: "If NAFTA is not passed, Japan and Europe will take advantage of economic opportunities in Mexico, and we would lose the chance to export our goods to Mexico."

	11/14- 15/93	10/93	
Agree Japan and Europe will take advantage.....	48	39	<b>[32]</b>
Disagree Japan and Europe will take advantage.....	41	46	
Not sure.....	11	15	

**ROTATE THE ORDER OF Q.8a AND Q.8b ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW**

- 8a. Some of the people who are in favor of NAFTA include all the living presidents--Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and Bill Clinton--many former secretaries of state, most governors, Colin Powell, and Lee Iacocca . Do the views of these people make you feel a lot more positive, somewhat more positive, a little more positive, or no more positive toward NAFTA?

A lot more positive.....	1	<b>[33]</b>
	6	
Somewhat more positive.....	1	
	9	
A little more positive.....	2	
	2	
No more positive.....	4	
	0	
Not sure.....	3	

- 8b. Some of the people who are against NAFTA include Ross Perot, Pat Buchanan, Jesse Jackson, Democratic House leader Dick Gephardt, Jerry Brown, Ralph Nader, and most leaders of labor unions. Do the views of these people make you feel a lot more negative, somewhat more negative, a little more negative, or no more negative toward NAFTA?

A lot more negative.....	10	<b>[34]</b>
Somewhat more negative.....	11	
A little more negative.....	15	
No more negative.....	61	
Not sure.....	3	

**FACTUALS:** Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

**(IF "YES," ASK:)** For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote.....	1	<b>[35]</b>
	4	
Voted for George Bush.....	2	
	6	
Voted for Bill Clinton.....	4	
	0	
Voted for Ross Perot.....	1	
	1	
Other candidate (VOL).....	-	
Too young (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	8	

- F2. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

**(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:)** Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or a not very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

**(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	2	<b>[36]</b>
	0	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	4	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9	
Strictly Independent.....	2	
	1	
Independent/lean Republican.....	9	
Not strong Republican.....	1	
	2	
Strong Republican.....	9	
Other.....	5	
Refused.....	-	
Don't know/nothing.....	1	

- F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	<b>[37]</b>
Some high school.....	8	
High school graduate.....	3	
	2	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	7	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	1	
	1	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1	
	8	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	7	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	-	

- F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	<b>[38]</b>
	1	
25-29.....	8	
30-34.....	1	
	2	
35-39.....	1	
	2	
40-44.....	1	
	2	
45-49.....	7	
50-54.....	7	
55-59.....	6	
60-64.....	8	
65 and over.....	1	
	7	
Refused.....	-	





F5a. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

Professional/manager.....	2	<b>[39]</b>
	7	
White collar worker.....	1	
	4	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	2	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	4	
Homemaker.....	9	
Retired.....	2	
	1	
Unemployed.....	2	
Never worked/not sure.....	-	

F5b. Are you, or is any member of this household, a member of a labor union?

Respondent is union member.....	1	<b>[40]</b>
	1	
Other person in household is union member.....	9	
Nonunion household.....	7	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	

F6. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	79	<b>[41]</b>
Black.....	10	
Hispanic.....	6	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F7. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	<b>[42]</b>
	2	
Object--do not call.....	1	
	8	